

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Daily Digest

Senate

Chamber Action

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held Friday, January 14, at noon.

Committee Meetings

(Committees not listed did not meet)

VIETNAM

Committee on Armed Services: Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee continued, in executive session, to discuss the military situation and problems in Vietnam. Adjourned subject to call of the Chair.

House of Representatives

Chamber Action

Bills Introduced: 21 public bills, H.R. 12036-12056; 12 private bills, H.R. 12057-12068; and 4 resolutions, H.J. Res. 802, and H. Res. 661-663, were introduced.

Pages 148-149, 161

Bills Reported: Reports were filed as follows:

Report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce entitled "Activity of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 89th Congress, 1st Session" (H. Rept. 1211); and

Report of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce entitled "Broadcast Ratings" (H. Rept. 1212).

Page 161

Committee Funds: Adopted H. Res. 661, to provide additional funds for the House Democratic Steering Committee and the House Republican Policy Committee.

Page 148

Consent Calendar: Agreed to dispense with Consent Calendar business of Monday, January 17. Pages 148-149

Private Calendar: Agreed to dispense with Private Calendar business of Tuesday, January 18. Pages 148-149

Calendar Wednesday: Agreed to dispense with Calendar Wednesday business of Wednesday, January 19.

Page 149

Committee Resignation: Received and read a letter of resignation from Representative Harris from membership on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Page 149

Committee Chairman: Adopted H. Res. 662, electing Representative Staggers of West Virginia as chairman of the standing Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Page 149

Program for Monday: Adjourned at 12:37 p.m. until Monday, January 17, 1966, at 12 o'clock noon.

Committee Meetings

PENDING BUSINESS

Committee on Education and Labor: Met in executive session on pending business. No announcements were made.

D.C. SCHOOLS

Committee on Education and Labor: Task Force on Anti-Poverty in the District of Columbia met in open session and discussed the D.C. school system with Dr. Carl Hansen, Superintendent of D.C. Schools.

D5

D6

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — DAILY DIGEST

January 13, 1966

Next meeting of the SENATE
12:00 noon, Friday, January 14

Next meeting of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
12:00 noon, Monday, January 17

COMMITTEE ELECTION

Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: Met in executive session and elected Representative Staggers to chair the committee, after the resignation of Representative Harris from the committee.

KU KLUX KLAN

Committee on Un-American Activities: Subcommittee continued hearings on Ku Klux Klan activities. Testimony was heard from Klan witnesses.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS FOR FRIDAY,
JANUARY 14

(All meetings are open unless otherwise designated)

Senate

No meetings are scheduled.

House

Committee on Un-American Activities, Subcommittee to continue hearings on Ku Klux Klan organizations, 10 a.m., caucus room, Cannon House Office Building.



Congressional Record

appropriate provisions of Title 44, United States Code, and published for each day that one or both Houses are in session, excepting very infrequent instances when two or more unusually small consecutive issues are printed at one time. ¶ The Congressional Record will be furnished by mail to subscribers, free of postage, for \$1.50 per month, payable in advance. Remittance by check or money order, made payable to the Superintendent of Documents, directly to the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402. For subscription purposes, 20 daily issues constitute a month. The charge for individual copies varies in proportion to the size of the issue. ¶ Following each session of Congress, the daily Congressional Record is revised, printed, permanently bound and is sold by the Superintendent of Documents in individual parts or by sets. ¶ With the exception of copyrighted articles, there are no restrictions on the republication of material from the Congressional Record.

The public proceedings of each House of Congress, as reported by the Official Reporters thereof, are printed pursuant to directions of the Joint Committee on Printing as authorized by

Appendix

Medicare Planning Essential

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT T. SECREST

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. SECREST. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following from the Mount Vernon (Ohio) News, January 7, 1966:

MEDICARE PLANNING ESSENTIAL

A new year brings new problems, and 1966 is no exception. One of the biggest problems—a whole nest of problems, in fact—will come with the implementation of the Federal medicare program.

With the program starting July 1, we have less than 6 months in which to prepare, and that means everyone concerned with putting the program into action should be starting now to plan for it.

The program will be so immense, and will take us into so many unexplored areas of caring for the elderly sick that we can expect new and unanticipated problems will be cropping up when the program actually is underway. But there are many other factors that are already fairly certain, and for which we should be preparing in the next few months.

It seems certain there is going to be increased use of hospital beds, a need for more doctor and nurse services, an increased demand for all of the services a hospital supplies—food, laundry, therapy, laboratory, rehabilitation. It is also generally expected there will be a great increase in need for nursing home facilities.

Some of the problems of medicare can be tackled in Washington, but the overall success or failure of the program can quite well hinge on how well it is handled in the communities.

Doctors will have an extremely important role in the program, and the degree of care and restraint which they exercise in sending patients to hospitals or nursing homes may well make or break the program.

Hospitals also face a great responsibility in seeing that facilities are used to the best possible advantage for the public interest as well as for the interests of patients. Competition among hospitals, resulting in costly duplication of services or even more costly idle facilities and personnel, can result in astronomical costs, not only for the medicare program itself but for the groups owning or supporting the hospitals. Nursing homes may face similar problems.

Finally, the success or failure of the program can lie largely with the public. Efforts to use the medicare program as a source of unnecessary care or as a means of getting rid of unwanted elderly members of the family could make it prohibitively expensive.

Even before the program starts, it looks as though cooperative and coordinated community planning is going to be essential if we are to make the best possible use of the doctors, nurses, hospitals, and nursing homes.

Medicare can be a boon to the Nation, but only if communities do their best to make it work successfully.

We in Knox County are fortunate in having more hospital and medical facilities than many communities have, but we can be caught short unless we start planning now to make the best possible use of them.

Law and Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the San Jacinto District Board of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs request that I call to the attention of the Congress a resolution adopted at a recent meeting pledging their support to law and order in the United States.

A newspaper article from the El Campo Citizen, El Campo, Tex., Tuesday, October 26, 1965, concerning this action follows:

WOMENS CLUB VOTE FOR LAW AND ORDER

At the San Jacinto District of Texas Federation of Womens Clubs board meeting held in Bay City, October 21, a resolution was passed unanimously to support the U.S. Government in the "enforcement of law and order to stamp out the seditious ugliness that is growing in America from lawless demonstrations, marches, and riots."

This womens federation district covers 15 counties, including the cities of Galveston, Houston, Brazoria, Palacios, El Campo, Victoria, Yoakum, College Station, and all within this area. It involves 63 womens clubs with over 1,500 members. In El Campo members clubs are Sorosis and the Sesame. Club members who attended the district board meeting from El Campo were Mrs. Fred Melcher, Mrs. C. T. Boyle, Mrs. P. H. Longwood, Mrs. A. J. Issacson, Mrs. W. E. Ferguson, Mrs. Paul Lampley, and Mrs. M. L. Hansard.

The resolution reads: "The members of the San Jacinto District, Texas Federation of Womens Clubs in session October 21, 1965, deplore the ugly image that is being presented to the world by lawless demonstrations, marches, and riots. This is indicative of the lack of patriotism and devotion to our country. As loyal Americans we wish to impress upon our Representatives in Washington our desire to firmly stand behind them in their enforcement of law and order. We cannot stress too strongly the need for stamping out this seditious ugliness that is growing in the United States of America. We strongly urge investigation of this communistically inspired attack that is growing more vicious each day. We ask that the Texas Federation of Womens Clubs and the General Federation of Womens Clubs take similar action in demanding enforcement of law and order as presented by this resolution."

"Signed by Mrs. George P. Kelley, trustee, San Jacinto District TFWC; Mrs. Paul Lampley, national legislation chairwoman; Mrs. Ralph Morgan, resolution chairwoman."

Copies are to be sent to President Johnson, U.S. Congressmen, and Governor Connally.

Representative Pelly Calls for a Full Congressional Debate on Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the Members of the House of Representatives, as the 2d session of the 89th Congress convenes, look forward to fulfilling our legislative responsibilities to the American people. It will require great patience, wisdom, and dedicated service to preserve and protect our Republic from enemies, both domestic and foreign, as under our oaths of office we are sworn to do.

Clearly, Vietnam is the No. 1 problem before the Nation. It will be the major question before the Congress this year.

Already, Mr. Speaker, I have had a number of private conversations with individual members of committees having jurisdiction over foreign affairs and defense. During the recess, these colleagues have been looking into the war in Vietnam and our military situation.

I have asked a question of one of our colleagues, who, as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, has been briefed recently by officials of the Department of State. My question was one I was frequently asked last fall by constituents; namely, why the conduct of the war and the policies we are pursuing is not a fit matter for congressional debate. In answer, I was informed that a high-ranking official of the State Department had told the House committee, in executive session, that the administration was "almost of a mind to allow such a debate." What a shocking statement. Imagine the implication that the Congress of the United States can only debate such an issue if the Department of State so approves. Certainly, such an implication impugns the independence of this great legislative body.

Personally, Mr. Speaker—and as one who have supported the President—I strongly favor a full and open discussion of the southeast Asia situation, and consideration by the Congress—as provided under the Constitution—as to a declaration of war on North Vietnam.

In this connection, I frankly doubt if the American people are being given the facts. For example, Secretary McNamara has said that the United States has stopped losing the war, but my conversations with Members who have re-

A94

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

January 13, 1966

cently visited Vietnam and studied the situation lead me to believe that, on the contrary, in the overall picture this may well not be true.

Of course, the latest peace promotion has been gratifying to the American public and has no doubt somewhat improved the unfavorable world image that has hurt our cause in the past.

Meanwhile, it seems to me that alternatives should be known. I refer to the fact that accelerating the war by bombing Hanoi or major facilities and industries is not the only course before us. Nor is a tight blockade our only course. I am informed that all the United States has to do is to bomb North Vietnamese dikes and that country will be flooded and rendered economically helpless. The resulting floods, I am told, would completely disrupt the war efforts of the North Vietnamese.

Mr. Speaker, with more American lives being lost every day and with general lack of public knowledge as to our policies—except that we will talk peace anywhere, at any time, and with no conditions—I favor opening up the subject of Vietnam for full and free discussion by the Congress. Only on that basis can the country make the proper decisions and provide the right answers to this unhappy issue.

As I said, Mr. Speaker, at home, the people are raising questions about the war. Who will say that they are not entitled to the facts?

Certainly, these facts, and the full and complete picture, were not included in President Johnson's state of the Union message.

The scheduled briefing of Members of Congress by Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in an off-the-record session, is all to the good. But the imposition of secrecy only serves to confuse the issue publicly. What is needed is a full debate, with all questions and answers on the record. Under our system of government, the public should not be kept in the dark.

As in the past, I will try to dig out what facts I can, and always refrain from partisan criticism. But, unless frank and full answers to the questions which my constituents raise are forthcoming, I will feel impelled to protest and point up any such failures.

Mr. Speaker, other than this, the Democrats in the administration and in this House of Representatives can count on my support of a bipartisan foreign policy. But, as I have said, I must have the facts and I must know more about just what is our foreign policy.

Hour of Decision on Vietnam Near

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, it is fortunate that David Lawrence's article entitled "Hour of Decision on Vietnam

Near" appeared the same evening as the President's state of the Union message but I found nothing in the President's message that would indicate a decision actually has been made or is contemplated. The status quo seems to be the only solution recommended by the administration. David Lawrence's article follows:

Hour of Decision on Vietnam Near

(By David Lawrence)

Nobody likes to see his country engaged in a war. As the lives of young men are sacrificed daily, the questions asked again and again are whether the Vietnam war is really necessary, whether it is America's responsibility alone, and whether the shedding of blood in defense of idealism—often vaguely expressed—is truly worthwhile.

Today in the National Capital as Members of Congress who have been to Vietnam bring back discouraging descriptions of the jungle warfare and how hard it will be to win a victory, a certain skepticism concerning America's mission emerges. The people of the United States also may well express doubts, because neither the underlying issues nor the policy being followed by the President in limiting military operations has been fully explained.

It's one thing to fight a war with maximum power, and it is another to carry on a war with limitations placed on the use of full military force. Perhaps the best explanation of what is really going on came in a little-noticed speech delivered in Detroit on December 6 by Gen. John P. McConnell, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, after a trip to Vietnam. He said air strikes are designed to impede the flow of supplies and reinforcements being sent into South Vietnam from the north, and to make it "too costly" for the North Vietnamese to continue this support. He added:

"This strategy, which is best described as 'strategic persuasion,' gives the President a highly flexible tool in inducing North Vietnam eventually to accept his offer of unconditional discussions.

"It is true that we could achieve this objective, virtually overnight, by destroying North Vietnam and forcing its surrender. We certainly have the military capability to do so. But President Johnson has emphasized that it is our national policy to keep this conflict at the lowest possible level of intensity, for humanitarian as well as for political reasons.

"As both our Commander in Chief and head of our Government, he has the final decision on the exact level and scope of our bombing effort in North Vietnam and that decision must be guided not only by military considerations and recommendations but by many other and possibly more compelling factors."

These words, carefully chosen, say, in effect, that the United States at present isn't fighting the war to win. This means that American boys are losing their lives in a strategic game which may or may not prevent a larger war.

But will temporizing with the enemy achieve peace, or will it bring on the big war anyway? There is only one valid reason for the sacrifice of American lives in Vietnam today. It is to save millions of Americans from being killed or wounded later in the enlarged war that can come if the Communist governments in Moscow and Peking are not thwarted in their ambition to take over control of small as well as large nations in Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere.

Red China, meanwhile, is accumulating nuclear weapons. Based on past experience, recklessness in the expenditure of human life can be expected from Peking. The realistic truth is that the United States is powerful enough today to win in Vietnam.

It can demonstrate by a single example of unlimited bombing that any risk necessary will be taken. This would simply be a recognition that the war of aggression in southeast Asia could be the forerunner of a direct attack someday on the American people by an irresponsible government possessing nuclear weapons.

Members of Congress are divided in their opinions, and for the most part are willing to let the President decide the policy that should be followed. Others think public discussion could be helpful. Here are some simple points involved: Is anything ever accomplished by procrastination in a military dilemma? If the United States gives the impression it is afraid to risk maximum force, doesn't this tell the enemy that it can continue the war indefinitely?

Maybe what is needed is a single example of heavy bombardment of North Vietnam and a threat to inflict similar blows unless the enemy agrees to go to the conference table to discuss a settlement. Certainly any manifestation of timidity will be misconstrued. So it becomes clear that the hour of decision on how to fight the Vietnam war draws near.

Resolution Adopted by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of this House a resolution adopted by the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers, on November 15, 1965.

I hope the message comes through loud and clear. The American labor movement is beginning to suspect the Democratic Party of insincerity and foot dragging. Labor is beginning to realize that the Democrats want to milk and use organized labor rather than help achieve labor's goals. This partnership is a one-way street—labor produces and the Democrats profit.

The Democrats do not want to offend other groups by passing labor's legislative package—which labor has paid them well to support. No, the Democrats are trying to trick labor in this election year by selling them out on labor legislation and trying to blame the Republicans. Labor knows better.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AND APPROVED BY THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO, WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 15, 1965

Never before the general elections of 1964 has organized labor succeeded in demonstrating their political strength so effectively. It was widely proclaimed that the labor movement was directly responsible for the election of more than 50 Members of the Congress from marginal districts. The campaigns to register voters as well as the drive to get out the voters on election day was highly successful. Labor's full-fledged political activities in 1964 were accelerated by the fact that the Democratic platform as well as the Democratic nominees' outright pledges included the repeal of section 14(b)



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 112

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1966

No. 3

Senate

The Senate was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Friday, January 14, 1966, at 12 o'clock meridian.

House of Representatives

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13, 1966

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., quoted this verse of Scripture:

John 1: 17: *The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.*

Almighty God, teach us that no aspiration or hope or truth, vouchsafed to our souls, is too high or holy to be fulfilled by Thy love and power.

Grant that we may cultivate those truths which will make us wise and faithful toward Thee and give us a conception of life and duty which relates to the inheritance and destiny of humanity.

May the life of the Christ, which was full of Thy grace and truth, make us equal to all the issues, the problems, the difficulties, the tragedies of our troubled and tangled times.

Help us to realize that He is still the keeper of the kind of life which we must seek to know and be ready and eager to share with mankind.

May we feel that the need is urgent and the time is opportune that men everywhere must partake in His grace and truth.

In His name we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

AFFIRMATION: VIETNAM—STUDENT BODY MOVEMENT AT EMORY UNIVERSITY

(Mr. LANDRUM asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LANDRUM. Mr. Speaker, at Emory University in Atlanta, Ga., a large number of the student body at that great

institution have organized and launched a movement to affirm the college students' support of this Nation's commitment in Vietnam. The operation is entitled "Affirmation: Vietnam." Under the leadership of young, intelligent, patriotic students at Emory, the organization, under the direction of Mr. Remar Sutton, general chairman, is getting widespread support among all of our college students and among business, professional, and citizen leaders in general.

At a time when this Congress and our Nation's leadership are faced with the critical problems in deciding how best to commit and employ our resources to achieve peace and promote understanding throughout the world, it is encouraging and, yes, even inspiring to one in public office to observe such patriotism and understanding in the vast majority of our college students in this land. We in Georgia are particularly pleased that such a movement has been launched by our young leaders and I believe this Congress will be glad to take note of the positive support generated by these young Americans swiftly approaching the time when they must shoulder the responsibilities we carry today.

It is planned that this movement by these young Georgians will result in a mass gathering of college students from all the institutions in Georgia and from neighboring States as well on the 12th of February in the Atlanta Stadium, at which time it is hoped that the world may be put on notice that a vast majority of our young people in America today fully realize the grave and complex problems confronting our Nation and freedom-loving nations everywhere. This sharp contrast to a small minority of Americans unwilling to make the sacrifices necessary to preserve our freedom is a most welcome display of patriotism at this time of crisis.

It is unfortunate that we find ourselves engaged in a conflict so widely misunderstood and it is important not only for the issues surrounding the immediate conflict to be thoroughly understood, but it is imperative that the public understand this effort to be one of avoiding world war III, the cost of which we simply cannot afford or the results of which we simply cannot afford. There is an old proverb admonishing us to study and remember our history or else we shall be condemned to live it again and now is the time when everyone must reflect upon the histories of World War I and World War II and realize that this effort in Vietnam is to try to eliminate the possibility of confrontation with adversaries in a world war III which would subject our people and our resources to catastrophe.

I salute the leadership of the "Affirmation: Vietnam" operation and I trust that this expression of patriotism for our country and confidence in our leadership will spread to all the college campuses throughout the United States.

PROJECT AFFIRMATION VIETNAM

(Mr. FLYNT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to associate myself with the remarks just made by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. LANDRUM].

Mr. Speaker, under the leadership of students at Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., project "Affirmation: Vietnam" has been undertaken. While I do not know all of the student leaders of this movement, those who are personally known to me represent the finest of America's youth.

January 13, 1966

I am informed that a statewide rally has been scheduled in Atlanta, Ga., on Saturday, February 12, 1966, and that the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, has accepted an invitation to attend, at which time the written affirmation of thousands of Georgians supporting the position of the U.S. Government in Vietnam will be presented. I have signed this affirmation of support, and expect to be present in Atlanta on February 12.

The question of whether the United States should be committed in southeast Asia is no longer debatable. Our commitment is a fact.

The word of the Government of the United States was given in 1954 during the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower and during the incumbency of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. That commitment has been ratified by President John F. Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and subsequently ratified by President Lyndon B. Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk.

The eyes of the world, among friend, foe, and uncommitted alike, are focused on the United States and upon the question of whether an honorable commitment made by the United States will be honored and defended.

During recent months, certain private individuals and some organized groups have publicly repudiated the position of the United States of America. Some have burned draft cards, and others have advocated the burning of draft cards. With such position I find myself in total disagreement.

While I respect the right of free speech at all times, I do not believe that the right of free speech includes treasonable utterances or the lending of aid and comfort to an armed enemy which is inflicting casualties on American men at arms.

If either or both of our two sons is called to active duty in the Armed Forces of the United States, each will respond with pride in his country. Each will enter service with my full approval and with all the continuing support which as a citizen and a Representative in Congress, I can provide for all Americans who serve in the Armed Forces of the United States.

All 50 colleges and universities in Georgia have indicated their participation in and support of "Affirmation: Vietnam." Georgia colleges agree unanimously on the program of "Affirmation: Vietnam" and the good it can do in affecting majority interest on the national press and international opinion, and more important, that the people of the United States stand behind our commitment.

Project "Affirmation: Vietnam" demonstrates the pride in country which these young Americans feel. It demonstrates that they wish to repudiate those who lend aid and comfort to the Communists of Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow. I commend them for initiating this project, and I wish them every success as they indicate the overwhelming support of the Government of the United States and the commitment which this Government has made.

The chairman of "Affirmation: Vietnam," Remer M. Sutton, Jr., in commenting on its purpose, quoted Commodore Stephen Decatur, an American naval hero, who in 1816 said:

Our country. In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.

PROJECT AFFIRMATION VIETNAM

(Mr. STEPHENS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join with my colleagues, and I am happy to know that young Georgians are asserting their support of our commitment in Vietnam through the proposal of "Affirmation: Vietnam." In times of crisis such as this it is imperative that the citizens of our great Nation give their willing support to the actions and commitments made by our Government.

Many times the State of Georgia has proved itself a leader among the States, and by "Affirmation: Vietnam" I am sure the people of Georgia will once again distinguish themselves as a strong citizen body behind their Government.

I believe that keeping our commitment in Vietnam and southeast Asia is essential for it is there that the future influence and power of the United States will be determined. We must prove in Vietnam that aggressive warfare can be stopped.

There are none more worthy of our support than our fighting men in Vietnam. By their bravery and skill against the terrorist tactics of the enemy, they have proven themselves worthy of a place in our hearts. It is for them and the future of our freedoms that I wish every success in this effort of the college youth of Georgia. I congratulate, too, the 10th district student leader, Stanton Singleton, Jr., and his friends who are leading this action in my district.

PROJECT AFFIRMATION VIETNAM

(Mr. TUTEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TUTEN. Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, it is with profound pride that I join my fellow colleagues from the State of Georgia in recognizing some young Georgians for a patriotic move, "Affirmation: Vietnam."

At a time when some of the youth of our Nation are failing entirely to express the convictions of the average American, it is encouraging indeed that a group of young people from Georgia express the real spirit of American young manhood.

I join my colleagues in lending my entire support and commendation to this group of young Americans. I predict that their spirit of patriotism will spread throughout the realm of our Nation.

PROJECT AFFIRMATION VIETNAM

(Mr. MACKAY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MACKAY. Mr. Speaker, on the afternoon of Saturday, February 12, 1966, Secretary of State Dean Rusk will address a great rally in our new stadium in Atlanta, Ga.

The rally will be an important and significant event because it was conceived by the college students in my district and elsewhere in Georgia and it evidences a strong desire on their part to demonstrate their allegiance to the principles on which our Nation was founded and a desire to hear firsthand from one of our Nation's leaders. We are proud of the fact that the Secretary of State is a native of Georgia and received his high school education in Atlanta.

The meeting has been named "Affirmation: Vietnam." In early December I met with key student leaders who told me they deplored as highly misleading the enormous publicity given a relatively few young people who publicly burned their draft cards and otherwise expressed their contempt for our lawful processes of government. They expressed their desire to show their appreciation for our heritage. I gave them my wholehearted encouragement.

After visiting extensively with young people of high school and college age I am convinced that the greatest hope for the extension of freedom in this world is to be found in the hearts and minds of this rising generation.

I commend this expression of loyalty on the part of these young men and women.

I extend my remarks by attaching the highly informative bipartisan report of five U.S. Senators to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States dated January 6, 1966, which I believe will be of interest to all who share a deep concern about Vietnam:

THE VIETNAM CONFLICT: THE SUBSTANCE AND THE SHADOW

(Report of Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Senator EDMUND S. MUSKIE, Senator DANIEL K. INOUYE, Senator GEORGE D. AIKEN, Senator J. CALDER BOGGS to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate)

A. VIETNAM: THE SUBSTANCE OF WAR

1. Introductory

The most important new factor in the war in Vietnam has been the introduction of large numbers of U.S. troops into South Vietnam and their direct entry into combat. This augmentation of the U.S. military role in Vietnam was a response to a near-desperate situation early in 1965. There is no question that the Government of Vietnam in Saigon was faced with a rapidly deteriorating position at that time.

After the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, repeated coups had weakened the cohesiveness of the central authority and acted to stimulate public disaffection and indifference to the war. At the same time, there was a greatly accelerated military drive by strengthened Vietcong forces. Their control expanded over large areas of the country, particularly in provinces adjacent to the western borders. Communications and transportation between population centers became increasingly hazardous, except by Vietcong suzerainty. In short, a total collapse of the Saigon government's authority appeared imminent in the early months of 1965.

January 13, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

141

U.S. combat troops in strength arrived at that point in response to the appeal of the Saigon authorities. The Vietcong counter response was to increase their military activity with forces strengthened by intensified local recruitment and infiltration of regular North Vietnamese troops. With the change in the composition of opposing forces the character of the war also changed sharply.

2. Military forces of the Government of Vietnam

The Government of Vietnam now has approximately 635,000 men under arms. Of this number, however, only about 300,000 are regular troops of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines, with about 88 percent being Army troops. A general reserve of six airborne battalions and five marine battalions is equipped to fight anywhere in the country.

The Vietnamese Government has six fighter-bomber squadrons. It also has a small navy, composed of sea, river, and coastal forces.

In the total of 635,000 men there are also regional forces of about 120,000 men which act as a constabulary in the 43 Provinces. Each province chief, who has a military as well as a civil capacity, has a number of regional force companies under his command. Popular forces number about 140,000. Lightly armed, this group is recruited as a rule from local youth to act as defenders of villages and hamlets. A civilian irregular defense group is recruited by the Vietnamese Special Forces. It numbers about 25,000 and is posted in border areas for patrol purposes. Finally, there is a national police of about 50,000 men.

The total of 635,000 men in all categories is expected to be expanded in the current year, although a substantial increase is not anticipated. The sources of expanded recruitment are not great and, in any event, are shared with the Vietcong. Moreover, a high desertion rate continues, despite determined efforts to reduce it.

3. U.S. and international forces in Vietnam

In 1962, U.S. military advisers and service forces in South Vietnam totaled approximately 10,000 men. This number had increased by May of 1965 to about 34,000. At that time the American force was still basically an advisory organization. Americans, in regular combat units, were not yet engaged on the ground. U.S. helicopter companies were in use but only to supply tactical transportation to regular Vietnamese units and the U.S. jet fighter-bombers in the country with the exception of two or three squadrons of aircraft were not yet engaged in support of the Vietnamese Armed Forces.

By December 1965, however, there were approximately 170,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam. Additionally, there were about 21,000 soldiers and marines from the Republic of Korea an infantry battalion and a battery of artillery, comprising some 1,200 men, from Australia, and a New Zealand artillery battery of about 150 men.

The augmented U.S. ground forces were composed of two Army divisions, the 1st Infantry Division and the 1st Air Cavalry Division, and two separate brigades, the 1st Brigade, 101st Airborne Division, and the 173d Airborne Brigade. The Australian and New Zealand troops were attached to the latter group. A full U.S. Marine division reinforced by a separate regiment, was in Vietnam with the support of six Marine fighter-bomber squadrons.

The small Vietnamese coastal force was augmented by a number of U.S. naval ships and Coast Guard vessels. The U.S. 7th Fleet was off the Vietnamese coast. Planes from its carriers were active in the air campaign against North Vietnam. They were also reinforcing the U.S. Air Force and Vietnamese fighter-bomber squadrons in operations in South Vietnam.

Ten U.S. Air Force and Marine fighter-bomber squadrons were operating from five jet airfields in Vietnam; a sixth field was under construction. B-52 bombers from Guam were providing additional air strength, concentrating on more remote Vietcong bases which had previously been immune to harassment or attack.

The magnitude of the expanded U.S. military effort has required a vastly enlarged support complex. Starting almost from scratch in May of 1965, a logistic system has been built. There are four major logistic support areas. One is in the Saigon region, including Bien Hoa and Vung Tau. The other three are located along the coast, at Cam Ranh Bay, at Qui Nhon in Binh Dinh Province, and at Da Nang. The rapid infusion of American forces has strained the facilities of the new logistic system to the utmost, with long delays in unloading and moving equipment not unusual. There have also been and still are shortages of important items of supply despite efforts to eliminate these shortages.

4. Relationship of United States and Vietnamese forces

From the point of view of American policy and practice, the war itself remains a Vietnamese war. The American command emphasizes that U.S. forces in Vietnam are there to support the Vietnamese and their Armed Forces in the effort to resist aggression by infiltration from the north and terrorism and subversion from within. Vietnamese sovereignty and the paramount role of the Vietnamese are meticulously respected and the supporting nature of the U.S. role is stressed.

There is no combined or unified command of the international forces in Vietnam. United States and Vietnamese forces work together through coordination and cooperation. The commander of the U.S. forces maintains close liaison with the Vietnamese Minister of Defense and the Chief of the Joint General Staff. Strategy and plans are devised together. Parallel instructions are then issued to the respective commanders through corps and division to regimental level. In the execution of an operation a joint command post is set up or liaison officers are exchanged and terrain is apportioned for tactical areas of operation. According to American military commanders these arrangements have proved to be practical and workable.

5. Vietcong-North Vietnamese forces

In December 1965, the best available estimates placed Vietcong strength in South Vietnam at 230,000 men. This figure is double that of 3 years ago. Total Vietcong strength, apparently, is steadily increasing despite the serious casualties which these forces have suffered the past few months.

Of the present total, approximately 73,000 are main force soldiers, including 14,000 regular PAVN (People's Army of North Vietnam) troops from North Vietnam. The Vietcong forces also include about 100,000 militia, some 17,000 support troops who operate along lines of communication, and approximately 40,000 political cadres. It is estimated that the Vietcong, through local recruitment in the south and infiltration from the north, have the capability of a substantial increase in their numbers within a short period of time.

Infiltration of men from North Vietnam through Laos has been going on for many years. It was confined primarily to political cadres and military leadership until about the end of 1964 when North Vietnam Regular Army troops began to enter South Vietnam by this route. It is anticipated that with the multiplication of routes through Laos the rate of infiltration is likely to increase threefold from the present estimated 1,500 per month. The monsoon, which earlier was considered to be of great significance in its

effect on the reinforcement capabilities of the Vietcong as well as on the ability of both sides to prosecute the war, has proved in experience to be of minor consequence if, indeed, of any consequence at all.

6. Current state of the war

By November 1965, American troops were directly involved in battle to a much greater degree than at any other time in the history of the Vietnamese conflict. At the same time, the intensity of the war itself reached a new high. The Vietcong initiated 1,038 incidents during the last week of November and the total number of incidents which had increased steadily throughout 1965, reached 3,588 in that month. These incidents involved armed attacks up to regimental strength as well as terrorism and sabotage of various kinds and antiaircraft fire against U.S. aircraft. In the later months of 1965 the trend was toward larger attacks, except in the Mekong Delta where there were numerous small-scale actions.

With the increase in the intensity of the conflict, there were increased numbers of casualties among all participants. In the month of November 1965, alone, 469 Americans were killed in action, a figure representing about 35 percent of all Americans killed in action in the war until that date. In addition, 1,470 Americans were listed as wounded and 33 as missing. During the same month the South Vietnamese Army reported 956 soldiers killed in action, 2,030 wounded, and 355 missing. The Vietcong, for their part, are estimated to have lost 5,300 men killed in the month and, in addition, 595 were taken prisoner. Many of these casualties were regulars of the North Vietnamese Army.

7. The security situation in South Vietnam

The presence of U.S. combat forces has acted to arrest the deterioration in general security in Government-controlled parts of South Vietnam. It has also improved the ability of the Vietnamese Government to hold Saigon, the strategic heart of the country, the coastal bases, and certain other key areas in the country. In the latter connection, it should be noted that a strategic route (19) from the coast to the western highlands has been reopened for convoyed ground traffic to Pleiku, a major military strong point in the western highlands. On certain other roads, an improvement in security is also reported.

8. Vietcong reactions

Faced by a blunting of their military efforts, the Vietcong have reacted strongly to the new situation. Beginning in June an estimated 1,500 North Vietnamese troops per month have entered South Vietnam through Laos and this number is rapidly increasing. The estimates are that at least seven regiments of regular troops from North Vietnam are now in the country with more on the way. At the same time the Vietcong have in recent months greatly stepped up the recruiting, induction, and training of South Vietnamese in the densely populated delta region. They have increased their small-scale attacks in that area, aiming apparently at isolated outposts and at demoralizing the regional and popular forces as well as harassing lines of supply and communication.

The stepped-up activity of the Vietcong in the countryside has been paralleled by an effort on the part of the Government forces to strengthen their control over the population in the base areas and their immediate environs. These base areas themselves are held in some force. At the U.S. Marine base at Da Nang, for example, the perimeter of security has been pushed out about 10 miles. The bulk of the U.S. Marine forces, however, is now preoccupied in defense within that perimeter. Nevertheless, it is still possible for the Vietcong to bypass the defenders and penetrate the area in sporadic hit-and-run

January 13, 1966

raids. Communications between the base areas along the coast are still subject to Vietcong ambush and attack.

In Saigon, heavily defended as it is, the rattle of automatic weapons fire or the explosion of mortar shells in the outskirts of the city are not uncommon sounds by day or by night. Vietcong ability to carry out terroristic attacks within the city itself is from time to time made evident. Indeed, it is considered by some that Saigon with its many vulnerabilities to sabotage and terrorism and Hanoi with its exposure to air attack are mutual hostages, one for the other.

9. Impact of increased American forces on the Vietnamese

The arrival in Vietnam of American combat troops in large numbers has had an immediate positive psychological effect on Government-held areas. Not only has there been an improvement of morale in the Government and the Armed Forces, there has also been a return of confidence among Vietnamese civilians. This is especially true in Saigon where the increased American presence is taken as insurance against an imminent collapse of the existing structure. Politically and commercially minded Vietnamese, seeing that the United States had so far committed itself, have found renewed courage and confidence.

Of great significance is the fact that there has been a period of Government stability in Vietnam following the arrival of additional U.S. troops. This stability is more essential than ever for the maintenance of public confidence after the debilitating consequences of the repeated coups which followed the assassination of President Diem. It is also vital for the effective prosecution of the war and the formulation and carrying out of social, economic, and political reform programs.

10. The government of Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky

The new leadership in Government which is drawn largely from military circles, is young and hopeful, but with little knowledge of politics. Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky, the Prime Minister, recognizes that a purely military solution to the problems of Vietnam is not possible. Security and social and economic reform, in his view, must proceed hand in hand in order to gain the support of the people.

The new leaders express the intention of moving toward some form of representative civilian government, taking into account the history and needs of the Vietnamese people. They speak of a consultative assembly to prepare the way for a constitution and hearings throughout the country on the constitution with a view to a referendum at the end of 1966. The referendum, according to their concepts, would be followed by elections to a legislative body by the end of 1967, if by that time elections can be held without intimidation in as much as two-thirds of the country. Some observers believe that, perhaps, not more than 25 percent of the villages under Government control in South Vietnam would be free from intimidation at an election at the present time.

In addition to prosecuting the war, the Government of Vietnam is seeking to initiate measures to protect and improve the welfare of the population. With the indispensable assistance of U.S. aid, food and other commodities are being imported into the country to meet current needs and to insure that the price of staples such as rice, fish, and canned milk remain within the reach of the people.

The illustrative story is told of the Vietnamese professional man who sold his house in Saigon in January of 1965 in despair over the deteriorating situation, only to buy back the same house later in the year, following the arrival of American troops, for twice the price at which he had sold it.

11. The pacification or civic action program

A new effort is also being made to bring the people of the villages into closer and firmer rapport with the Government. In the period following the fall of the government of Ngo Dinh Diem, the so-called pacification or civic action program which brought government, police, economic, and social organization into the hamlets, was allowed in large measure to lapse. Due to subsequent changes of government, there were eventually only a very few people left to carry on this work. Military necessity required the Government to concentrate on attempting to stop Vietcong military advances.

The present Government is once again seeking to create an organization to carry out a program of pacification or civic action. Screening the cadres left from the programs of previous governments, a basic group has been selected. Together with additional groups to be trained it is expected that a total number adequate to meet the needs for pacification teams in the priority areas chosen by the Government of Vietnam will be available by the end of 1966.

The present plan for pacification work is regarded by observers as more thorough and more realistic than previous efforts. It contemplates teams remaining in each village for an initial period of several months with subsequent followups over a period of at least 1 year. The belief is that the inhabitants can generally be sufficiently won over to the side of the Government in that period and conditions established where elections for local officials can be held. It is realized, however, that even then the work cannot be considered as completed.

12. Other programs

In addition to giving strong support to the pacification program, the new Government has numerous other plans to better the lot of the people. There are, for example, projects to improve the pay of the troops, construct low-cost housing, and redistribute land. In this connection a program has been inaugurated to give 700,000 acres of land to 180,000 farmers. It is generally recognized that Government programs of this kind, many of which have been attempted in various forms before, will require years before any substantial political effect upon the population can be anticipated.

13. Economic aspects of the conflict

The Government of Vietnam has also instituted a resources control program in an effort to restrict the Vietcong's ability to get the things they need to carry on the war. In most parts of Vietnam, which is a naturally rich and productive country, it is not difficult to obtain enough food to support life. This is particularly true in the fertile and densely populated delta of the south with its great rice fields and network of interconnecting canals. The Vietcong obtain money by many means including taxation and extortion, and they can and do use these funds to purchase food in the countryside and medicines in district and provincial towns. The Vietcong can and do attack trucks and convoys on the roads and seize the weapons, ammunition, and the other goods which they may carry.

By a system of rationing, identity cards, and resource control, including checkpoints and mobile control teams, however, the Government hopes to stop the Vietcong from obtaining key commodities such as food and medicines in key areas such as the highlands, which is a deficit region. In other areas it is hoped that the system will make goods less available for the Vietcong and more difficult for them to obtain.

It must be said that there is also a reverse side to this picture. The Vietcong, operating in the countryside, have the ability to restrict the flow of food to cities and population centers such as Saigon. Vegetables,

for example, come to Saigon from Dalat in the central highlands. Sugar also comes to Saigon along the same road which is controlled in part by the Vietcong. It is common knowledge that commodities reaching Saigon's markets by road from the Dalat area have paid a tax to the Vietcong before reaching the city and that unless the tax is paid they will not reach the city. The fact is plain: Much of Saigon's indigenous food and commodity supply depends on the sufferance of the Vietcong and on payments to them.

The ravages of war and terrorism, however, are taking a toll of the country's productive capacity. Rice fields and rubber plantations in areas that are being bombed and fought over no longer produce their contribution to feed the people and to nourish the economy. Fledgling enterprises in outlying areas, cut off from supplies and from markets by interrupted communications, wither, and fail.

Along with increased Vietcong activity in the delta in recent months, there has been growing Vietcong restriction on the flow of rice from that region to the Saigon market. The result is that Vietnam, a rice surplus region, in 1966, will have to import at least 300,000 tons of rice from abroad under U.S. aid programs to feed the population of the cities and towns and under the government's control.

Although, as has been said, the arrival of large numbers of American troops has gone far to restore business confidence in the cities of Vietnam, there have been adverse effects as well. One of these is the creation of a labor shortage, particularly among skilled workers, as men have been drained away from normal areas of employment to the base complexes and other regions where construction projects are being pushed to create the logistic structure and other facilities required by the American forces.

Inflationary pressures resulting from the war and the changed U.S. role have thus far been kept within bounds. Saigon itself, however, has an overstimulated atmosphere of almost hectic prosperity, in some respects, as the impact of spending by American servicemen and the effect of U.S. defense expenditure make themselves felt. There are also the beginnings of the rumblings of personal discontent and antagonism which generally characterize the reaction in any nation to the sudden infusion of a large body of foreign forces.

14. Summation

In sum, the overall control of the country remains about the same as it was at the beginning of 1965. It is estimated that about 22 percent of the population is under Vietcong control and that about 18 percent inhabits contested areas. About 60 percent of the population in the country is, at present, under some form of government control, largely because of its hold on Saigon and other cities and large towns.

The population of the cities has been augmented by a great number of refugees. Hundreds of thousands in number, they are for the greater part composed of people who have fled to the cities in an effort to escape the spreading intensity of the war. In this sense, they are unlike the refugees who came from North Vietnam in 1954. These earlier refugees consciously chose to leave their ancestral homes and come south permanently, rather than accept a Communist regime. The new refugees, for the most part, are believed merely to be waiting for an end to the fighting in order to return to their homes and land.

The Vietcong have stepped up sabotage, terrorism, and hit and run attacks in the Government-held areas which are, principally, cities and major towns and indeterminate, but limited, extensions outward from them. Harassment by United States and Vietnamese air attack and airborne

January 13, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

143

forces has increased in the firmly held Vietcong areas of South Vietnam which are almost entirely rural. And, of course, North Vietnam has been brought under air attack.

In general, however, what the Saigon government held in the way of terrain in the early months of 1965 (and it was already considerably less than was held at the time of the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem), is still held. What was controlled then by the Vietcong is still controlled by the Vietcong. What lay between was contested at the outset of 1965 and is still contested.

B. VIETNAM AND THE NATIONS OF ASIA

Other nations of Asia generally view the conflict in Vietnam with great concern. Those countries nearest to Vietnam see in the spread and increasing intensity of the warfare a heightened danger of a spillover into their territory. They sense that the longer the conflict continues and the more it escalates the greater becomes this danger to themselves. Furthermore, they fear the effect upon their own future should all of Vietnam become a Communist state.

Laos already finds itself deeply although unwillingly involved on the fringes of the war in Vietnam. The fighting within Laos, which continues despite the 1962 Geneva Agreement, is now a closely interwoven part of the Vietnamese struggle. The connection is most pronounced in the eastern part of Laos which lies within the control of the Communist Pathet Lao forces. This region, the so-called Laotian panhandle, is a natural infiltration route for men and supplies from North Vietnam into South Vietnam. A long border abutting on South Vietnam makes it possible for troops and equipment from Hanoi to reach far south through Communist-controlled territory in Laos with a minimum of risk before being diverted across the border into South Vietnam by any number of lateral communications routes. New roads have been constructed through this mountainous terrain along which men and supplies can pass, for the most part undetected, protected as they are in some regions by double canopies of jungles foliage. These roads are not easily susceptible to aerial interdiction.

Cambodia, in a different manner and to a much lesser extent than Laos, is already directly touched by the fighting in Vietnam. There are repeated charges that Cambodian territory is being used as a base for Vietcong operations. That is possible in view of the remoteness and obscurity of the border but there is no firm evidence of any such organized usage and no evidence whatsoever that any alleged usage of Cambodian soil is with the sanction much less the assistance of the Cambodian Government. Prince Sihanouk responded immediately to a recent allegation that the Cambodian port of Sihanoukville is being used to transship supplies to the Vietcong by calling for an investigation by the International Control Commission which was set up under the Geneva Accords of 1954.

Cambodia's overwhelming concern is the preservation of its national integrity which, in times past, has been repeatedly violated by more powerful neighbors and is still subject to occasional forays from a minor dissident movement (the Khmer Seral) which has been allowed to base itself in the neighboring nations. Cambodia seeks recognition and respect of its borders by all parties to the conflict. It asks to be left to live in peace so that it may concentrate on its own problems and internal developments. The Cambodians have made great internal progress, largely through their own efforts supplemented by a judicious use of aid from the United States in the past and from other nations both in the past and at the present time. They have a peaceful and productive nation with an intense sense of national unity and loyalty to Prince Sihanouk.

The fact that fighting in South Vietnam has raged close to the border and there have, as a result, been occasional border incursions and bombing of Cambodian territory has caused the deepest concern to the Cambodian Government. Cambodia can be expected to make the most vigorous efforts to resist becoming directly involved in the struggle surging through South Vietnam and to repel to the best of its capability direct and organized invasions of its territory which may stem from the mounting tempo of the war.

Thailand, the only country on the southeast Asian mainland directly allied with the United States, seeks to cooperate with the United States as an ally while avoiding a spillover of the war into Thai territory. That course is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. Thailand has a large number of North Vietnamese living in its northeast region bordering on Laos. This element retains an affinity for Hanoi and is susceptible to its influence. Moreover, in the recent past Peiping has brought to the forefront a Thai leader in exile and has increased the intensity of its propaganda attacks against Thailand. Reports of terrorism and sabotage in the northeast of Thailand are increasing.

The Vietnamese war was brought very close to Thai territory in November 1965. A Pathet Lao military thrust toward the Laotian town of Thakkek on the Mekong, which was supported by North Vietnamese troops, was fortuitously driven back by government forces. Had it not been repelled, the war, in effect, would have reached the point where it made direct contact with Thailand's frontier.

Nations in Asia more geographically remote from the war in South Vietnam are nonetheless conscious of the dangers to the entire area as the struggle in South Vietnam becomes more prolonged and ever more intense. These countries range from neutral and non-aligned Burma through such allies of the United States as the Philippines and Japan.

Each of the countries of Asia has its own internal problems. Each has varying degrees of internal stability. Each has as a principal concern, the avoidance of direct involvement in the Vietnamese conflict. With the exception of Korea, there is little likelihood of substantial material help from these sources in providing military assistance in South Vietnam. Others are either unwilling or reluctant to become involved in a military sense or are unable to do so because of inner difficulties or the broader strategic requirements of the Asian situation. Even with respect to Korea, it is obvious that any withdrawal of forces for use in Vietnam creates new problems of military balance as between North and South Korea. It should not be overlooked that peace in the Korean peninsula is still held together only by a tenuous truce.

The Asian nations generally are aware of their own relative powerlessness to influence the main course of events, or, in the final analysis, to control their own destinies should the conflict in Vietnam ultimately develop into a confrontation between the United States and Communist China with all that such an eventuality might imply for the peace of Asia and the world. In Japan, for example, there is a deep anxiety over the possible consequences to that nation of such a confrontation if it should materialize. The memory of the escalation of the limited Manchurian incident of 30 years ago into a seemingly interminable war on the mainland of China is not yet dead in Japan.

To sum up, then, the nations of Asia recognize the immense importance to themselves of what is transpiring in Vietnam. But they also recognize their own limitations in the face of it. Their immediate preoccupation, in any event, is with their own internal problems and development. Throughout the area there is a continuing interest in activities involving peaceful cooperation for economic development. The Peace Corps is generally

welcomed wherever it operates and, notably, in the Philippines. The new Asian Development Bank is being launched with considerable enthusiasm. The Mekong project has warm support throughout the region and considerable interest in Cambodia, which is central to the concept.

It is clear that none of the nations of the area desires the domination of either China or the United States. Given a choice, it is doubtful that any nation would like to see the influence of the United States withdrawn completely from southeast Asia. Generally speaking, the nations of the area welcome peaceful ties with the United States and our participation in the development of the region if that participation does not become overwhelming.

C. THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE

Without exception the Soviet Union, Poland, and Rumania give full and firm support to the position of Hanoi and the Vietcong. They are quick in their denunciation of the United States role in South Vietnam and vehement against United States bombing in North Vietnam.

Part of this solidarity is undoubtedly derived from ideological affinities. Whatever attitudes they may manifest toward Communist China, and they vary, it is clear that responsibility for the continuation of the conflict in Vietnam is assigned to the United States and this is regarded as an impediment to improvement in political relations with this country.

There is no reason to believe that the Soviet Union, in present circumstances, sees its way clear or, in fact, is anxious to play a significant role to assist in bringing an end to hostilities in Vietnam. The Soviet Union has steadfastly refused to join with the United Kingdom, the other Cochairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference, in calling for a reconvening of that Conference. They have emphasized repeatedly in public statements as well as in other ways that they have no intention of taking an initiative for peace in Vietnam at this time.

The countries of Eastern Europe have reason for concern over the continuation of the conflict in Vietnam and its escalation. Some of these reasons have to do with their own national preoccupations and the situation in Europe. Both Poland and Rumania, for example, have a very substantial trade with the Western World and remain interested in increased trade with the United States should conditions permit. Both might well be disposed to make a contribution to a settlement of the Vietnam problem to the extent their capabilities permit but only should they see some possibility of success.

D. COMMUNIST CHINA

Behind the war in Vietnam, behind the fears and preoccupations of other Asian nations and through the attitudes of the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union runs the shadow of Communist China.

Until now the Chinese Communists have not introduced their manpower directly into the conflict although they clearly recognize that the war may reach that point. They recognize, too, that the war may impinge upon China herself at some point and have begun to make preliminary preparations for that eventuality.

For the present, however, the Chinese appear to take the view that their direct intervention in Vietnam is not required since: (1) the war in South Vietnam is a people's war which the Vietcong are winning; (2) North Vietnam is successfully defending itself; (3) the more the United States escalates the war the higher our casualties will be and the more discouraged we will become; and (4) the United States cannot win, in any event, according to Chinese theories.

It is from Communist China that Hanoi and the Vietcong derive the bulk of their outside material support. It is from Communist China that there has also flowed encouragement of resistance to negotiation or compromise. As the war escalates and Hanoi becomes ever more dependent upon Chinese support, a dependence which Soviet aid at best only tempers, the likelihood also increases that North Vietnam will not be able to negotiate a settlement without at least the tacit consent of China. In fact, that point may already have been reached.

E. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

A rapid solution to the conflict in Vietnam is not in immediate prospect. This would appear to be the case whether military victory is pursued or negotiations do, in fact, materialize.

Insofar as the military situation is concerned, the large-scale introduction of U.S. forces and their entry into combat has blunted but not turned back the drive of the Vietcong. The latter have responded to the increased American role with a further strengthening of their forces by local recruitment in the south and reinforcements from the north and a general stepping up of military activity. As a result the lines remain drawn in South Vietnam in substantially the same pattern as they were at the outset of the increased U.S. commitment. What has changed basically is the scope and intensity of the struggle and the part which is being played by the forces of the United States and those of North Vietnam.

Despite the great increase in American military commitment, it is doubtful in view of the acceleration of Vietcong efforts that the constricted position now held in Vietnam by the Saigon Government can continue to be held for the indefinite future, let alone extended, without a further augmentation of American forces on the ground. Indeed, if present trends continue, there is no assurance as to what ultimate increase in American military commitment will be required before the conflict is terminated. For the fact is that under present terms of reference and as the war has evolved, the question is not one of applying increased U.S. pressure to a defined military situation but rather of pressing against a military situation which is, in effect, open ended. How open is dependent on the extent to which North Vietnam and its supporters are willing and able to meet increased force by increased force. All of mainland southeast Asia, at least, cannot be ruled out as a potential battlefield. As noted, the war has already expanded significantly into Laos and is beginning to lap over the Cambodian border while pressures increase in the north-east of Thailand.

Even if the war remains substantially within its present limits, there is little foundation for the expectation that the Government of Vietnam in Saigon will be able, in the near future, to carry a much greater burden than it is now carrying. This is in no sense a reflection on the caliber of the current leaders of Vietnam. But the fact is that they are, as other Vietnamese Governments have been over the past decade, at the beginning of a beginning in dealing with the problems of popular mobilization in support of the Government. They are starting, moreover, from a point considerably behind that which prevailed at the time of President Diem's assassination. Under present concepts and plans, then, what lies ahead is, literally, a vast and continuing undertaking in social engineering in the wake of such military progress as may be registered. And for many years to come this task will be very heavily dependent on U.S. foreign aid.

The basic concept of present American policy with respect to Vietnam casts the United States in the role of support of the Vietnamese Government and people. This con-

cept becomes more difficult to maintain as the military participation of the United States undergoes rapid increase. Yet a change in the basic concept could have a most unfortunate impact upon the Vietnamese people and the world at large. What is involved here is the necessity for the greatest restraint in word and action, lest the concept be eroded and the war drained of a purpose with meaning to the people of Vietnam.

This danger is great, not only because of the military realities of the situation, but also because, with a few exceptions, assistance has not been and is not likely to be forthcoming for the war effort in South Vietnam from nations other than the United States. On the contrary, as it now appears, the longer the war continues in its present pattern and the more it expands in scope, the greater will become the strain placed upon the relations of the United States with allies both in the Far East and in Europe.

Many nations are deeply desirous of an end to this conflict as quickly as possible. Few are specific as to the manner in which this end can be brought about or the shape it is likely to take. In any event, even though other nations, in certain circumstances, may be willing to play a third-party role in bringing about negotiations, any prospects for effective negotiations at this time (and they are slim) are likely to be largely dependent on the initiatives and efforts of the combatants.

Negotiations at this time, moreover, if they do come about, and if they are accompanied by a cease-fire and standfast, would serve to stabilize a situation in which the majority of the population remains under nominal government control but in which dominance of the countryside rests largely in the hands of the Vietcong. What might eventually materialize through negotiations from this situation cannot be foreseen at this time with any degree of certainty.

That is not, to say the least, a very satisfactory prospect. What needs also to be borne in mind, however, is that the visible alternative at this time and under present terms of reference is the indefinite expansion and intensification of the war which will require the continuous introduction of additional U.S. forces. The end of that course cannot be foreseen, either, and there are no grounds for optimism that the end is likely to be reached within the confines of South Vietnam or within the very near future.

In short, such choices as may be open are not simple choices. They are difficult and painful choices and they are beset with many imponderables. The situation, as it now appears, offers only the very slim prospect of a just settlement by negotiations or the alternative prospect of a continuance of the conflict in the direction of a general war on the Asian mainland.

(Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join my colleagues in a pledge of support to the "Affirmation: Vietnam" movement organized by a group of responsible and clear-thinking students of draft age in my home State of Georgia.

The movement has served notice on the protesters and demonstrators that America will no longer sit idly by while a small, but loud, misguided minority gives aid and comfort to our enemy.

The movement's phenomenal growth is heartening to all patriotic Americans. Started by a handful of students at Emory University just last month, "Affirmation: Vietnam" has grown into a

large organization with a nucleus of supporters from 47 Georgia colleges and universities. It is a politically non-partisan group of young Americans dedicated to the task of making known to the world that our Nation's commitment against Communist aggression is supported by her people and will be fulfilled.

On February 12, the group will stage a huge rally in Atlanta's new stadium to show grassroots support of our commitment to South Vietnam. The guests will include many prominent Georgians from across the Nation. Secretary of State Dean Rusk is scheduled to speak. It is hoped that Bob Hope will find it possible to attend.

It is my prayer that the success of this movement will inspire college students in all 50 States to take a strong, positive stand during this period of crisis.

America today must regain some greater inner force than has yet been marshaled in order to save its own liberty and what is left of freedom in the world. The freshness, exuberance, and ingenuity that youth offers in support of a free world is a step in the right direction.

(Mr. DAVIS of Georgia (at the request of Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I take great pride in informing the membership of this House that one of the principal leaders in the movement which has been designated as "Affirmation: Vietnam" is one of my constituents, Mr. Terry Adamson of Calhoun, Ga. I am tremendously proud of the fact that young Mr. Adamson, who is club chairman and in charge of congressional liaison, has given unstintingly of this time and energy to support the movement which has done so much to evince popular support for our Nation's policy in Vietnam.

From the first time I heard of this proposal I have felt great enthusiasm for it and have expressed my support both privately and publicly.

I have informed Mr. Adamson and the entire membership of "Affirmation: Vietnam" that my endorsement of the principles of this organization is both enthusiastic and unhesitating, and I have pledged and do now pledge wholehearted support of its position.

I am deeply impressed with its wholesome and patriotic manifestation of confidence in our Nation's foreign policy and in the encouragement which the movement gives to the American soldiers who are making such great sacrifices in Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, I should like for you and the membership of this body and the people of the United States to know that this particular Member of the House of Representatives stands solidly behind his constituent, Terry Adamson, and all like-minded Americans who are ready and willing to stand up and be counted in support of our commitment in Vietnam.

(Mr. WELTNER (at the request of Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record.)

January 13, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

145

[Mr. WELTNER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. HAGAN of Georgia (at the request of Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. HAGAN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the people of our Nation were shocked during the past year by the unpatriotic demonstrations of several thousand students who opposed our efforts to defend the freedom of South Vietnam.

In an effort to show that the actions of these objectors do not represent the attitude of the majority of this Nation's young people, a group of Georgia students have formed an organization called Affirmation: Vietnam. Their purpose is to show the nations of the world that the vast majority of young Americans believe in, and fully support, this Nation's commitment to protect the rights of free people in every land.

As one of the sponsors of this organization, I commend the people of Georgia for giving their full support to "Affirmation: Vietnam." I also recommend this action to our college students across the Nation.

A MAGNIFICENT STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, last night the President delivered a magnificent state of the Union message. It was a message worthy of the leader of the world.

The President was frank and forthright with the American people. He told them the hard facts about the world in which they live. He also showed them what is possible in the world today. He presented a positive, courageous program on honoring our commitments to the people of the world—not only in defense of freedom but in support of those who desire to help themselves in the fields of education and health.

In my opinion the President accurately described the goals and aspirations of the American people. While he made it clear that the road to greatness and peace will not be easy, he reassured us of the boundless potential of this Republic and of mankind. I am sure that his pursuit of peace through strength and justice, and his program for progress will have the overwhelming support of the American people.

PEACE IN VIETNAM

(Mr. FARBSTEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARBSTEN. Mr. Speaker, there is much to commend in President Johnson's state of the Union message which we heard in this Chamber last night, but I found nothing more encouraging than the President's careful and specific enunciation of the terms on which our Government would agree to a peace in Vietnam. I feel that at times the Presi-

dent sounded harsh. I would respectfully disagree with some of the premises he advanced as essential for American diplomacy. But we need not dwell on these areas of disagreement because within the speech the President offered a viable blueprint to end the Vietnamese war.

Until now it has been said—with some accuracy—that our terms for peace have been vague and our intentions unclear, in spite of our offers to negotiate unconditionally. I think the President did much last night to supply the necessary clarification. The President said:

We seek neither territory nor bases, economic domination nor military alliance in Vietnam. We fight for the principle of self-determination, that the people of South Vietnam should be able to choose their own course—choose it in free elections without violence, without terror and without fear.

He said further:

The people of all Vietnam—

And I ask you to take note of the word "all"—

should make a free decision on the great question of reunification, and this is all we want for South Vietnam; it is all the people of South Vietnam want.

The President went on to say:

There are no arbitrary limits to our search for peace. We stand by the Geneva agreements of 1954 and 1962, we will meet at any conference table, we will discuss any proposals—4 points or 14 or 40—and we will consider the views of any group.

Let us take note once again of the reference to "four points" which undoubtedly is to Hanoi's celebrated four points program and that "any group" includes the Vietcong's National Liberation Front. Finally, the President pledged:

We will withdraw our soldiers once South Vietnam is securely guaranteed the right to shape its own future.

The President's words, Mr. Speaker, contain—in my view, the formula for a just peace in Vietnam. It will allow the Vietnamese people the opportunity to choose for themselves what kind of government they want. If the Vietcong embody the wishes and the hopes of the people they will presumably be offered the means to represent them as soon as the people have had the chance to make their declaration at the polls. There is room in the President's formula, Mr. Speaker, for the Vietcong to contend peacefully for the mandate of the South Vietnamese people. And there is in the President's formula the means for Vietnam to resume its life as a nation united, as a people no longer divided by an arbitrary barrier set up for reasons of diplomatic expediency in a treaty a dozen years ago. The President has offered fair terms to the enemy in Vietnam. I hope the enemy sees fit to accept them as the basis for the restoration of peace.

Let me note finally that the morning paper carries a dispatch from Saigon reporting a meeting between Premier Ky of South Vietnam and the senior Senator of New York [Mr. JAVITS]. Premier Ky, according to this dispatch, expressed to Senator JAVITS a willingness to conduct a free election in South Vietnam by late 1967. I regard this as a hopeful indi-

cation of the willingness of the South Vietnamese Government to cooperate in achieving peace. After all, late 1967 is not very far away.

In short, Mr. Speaker, I look upon the President's peace proposals last night as the most generous and most specific which he has yet publicly offered. It is not 100 percent what the other side wants, but one cannot expect it to be. There are clearly two sides to this dispute. It certainly presents, however, a sound basis for working out differences in a manner that can secure satisfaction and justice to both sides.

A BILL TO REPEAL THE LIMITATION OF LIABILITY FOR DAMAGES CAUSED BY DOMESTIC COMMERCIAL ATOMIC POWERPLANTS

(Mr. KEE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to repeal the limitation of liability for damages caused by domestic commercial atomic powerplants which are licensed in the future. This measure is of vital importance to the coal producing areas of the United States.

As the law now stands—it was amended last year to extend this particular feature to August 1, 1977—operators of atomic powerplants buy insurance in the amount of \$74 million. This is all the coverage that the insurance pools will grant. The Federal Government adds \$486 to make the total amount available for any atomic plant \$560 million. But the law goes further; it says that if the damages exceed \$560 million—nobody will have to pay the public for the excess. In other words, Mr. Speaker, the injured members of the public will have no recourse for the amount of damages they will suffer in excess of the \$560 million fund.

At first glance, this sum of money might seem sufficient to cover any conceivable damages. If we were dealing with an ordinary piece of machinery—this would certainly be true. In atomic power, however, we are dealing with the most deadly substance ever discovered.

In 1957, in the so-called Brookhaven report, AEC scientists estimated that total property damage, if the worst came to the worst, could amount to \$7 billion, spread over an area of about 150,000 square miles. They said the chances of such a catastrophe happening are remote, but not impossible.

In the 1957 report, AEC was talking about a very small atomic plant—about one-fifth the size of the large ones being constructed today. In June of last year, AEC Chairman Glenn Seaborg said the amount of possible damage depends primarily on the amount of fission products in the reactor and he pointed out that reactors being built today are much larger than the one considered in the 1957 report. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it must be concluded that the amount of possible damages may be, under the worst possible circumstances, several

times \$7 billion, yet the law limits our citizens to recovery of \$560 million.

Moreover, our citizens have no insurance protection of their own against property damage from an atomic powerplant catastrophe. Each and every homeowner's policy, each and every policy covering a business building, contains a radiation exclusion clause in the fine print—and this clause means that if your home or your business property is made uninhabitable by radiation from an atomic powerplant accident your insurance company will not reimburse you for your loss.

Mr. Speaker, the utilities have repeatedly told the members of the public that atomic powerplants are safe. Yet last year they told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy that they would not build atomic powerplants if they had to be legally liable for the damages in excess of \$560 million. If these plants are safe, Mr. Speaker, the utilities do not need more than \$560 million coverage and this no-recourse provision should be stricken from the law. The ordinary legal rights of citizens should be restored.

If, on the other hand, these plants are not safe; if \$560 million insurance is not enough to cover the damages; if utilities are not confident enough to build such plants with \$560 million insurance—then I say to you that these plants should not be built at all. We have plenty of fossil fuels to enable us to proceed with reasonable caution in the development of atomic power. We can well afford to gather 15 or 20 years of experience with 10 or 15 large atomic plants before we spread them all over the country. Let us have an opportunity for a reasonable amount of experience before we let more such plants be built under a provision of the law which may deprive the public of the right to compensation for damages.

Mr. Speaker, my bill would not apply to atomic plants which have already received construction permits. It would apply only to plants seeking such permits in the future. Our people are entitled to restoration of their legal rights with respect to such plants. There is no conceivable excuse for continuing the no-recourse provision. It boils down, very simply, to this: If atomic powerplants are safe the no-recourse provision is unnecessary and should be repealed; if atomic powerplants are not safe, they should not be built.

PRESIDENT SPEAKS THE HEART AND MIND OF AMERICAN PEOPLE

(Mr. O'HARA of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, last night in a time both of peril and of promise, President Johnson spoke the heart and the mind of the American people.

There will be no backward steps in our quest for a fullness of life for all our people, and for all peoples everywhere.

There will be no cessation in our search for the doors to negotiation and the pathway to peace.

With courage to meet the problems and firmness to face the dangers, with faith that all will be well as long as we hold true to ourselves and the unselfish purity of our destiny, Mr. President, with you we will press on, confident and unafraid.

LUNCHEON OF THE KIVA CLUB OF SANTA FE, N. MEX.

(Mr. WALKER of New Mexico asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WALKER of New Mexico. Mr. Speaker, during the Christmas holidays I had the privilege of attending a luncheon of the Kiva Club of Santa Fe, N. Mex., of which I am a member.

At each place at the luncheon a copy of a quotation from an unknown author was placed. I was very impressed not so much by the actual wording of the quotation, but by the intent.

I believe that the intent of this quotation could well become the feeling of this 2d session of the 89th Congress. I am submitting this quotation for your appraisal and consideration:

Our most valuable possessions are those which can be shared without lessening. Those which, when shared, multiply. Our least valuable possessions are those which, when divided are diminished.

VIETNAM VACUUM

(Mr. WOLFF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, as the Congress meets today the primary subject on all our minds is Vietnam. The President again outlined the somber realities of Vietnam in his state of the Union message last night. The question is: How best can we in Congress help in the great effort to bring peace and contain communism in that troubled area?

The President's recent peace offensive is a sincere and imaginative move to bring the principals in the Vietnam conflict together to work for peace. The President's efforts deserve the enthusiastic support of all Americans, regardless of how they stand on our involvement in Vietnam. Last night he again spelled out to the world that America's only ambitions in Vietnam are that the people might live in peace and freedom. This has been the purpose of the American presence since the beginning and remains the purpose today.

Mr. Speaker, the words of our late President John F. Kennedy ring loud and clear today throughout this Chamber:

Our judgment is only as good as our information.

We, however, the representatives of the people of this great land, lack much of the information on which to base a sound judgment on the vital subject of Vietnam, a judgment we must express in the votes we cast for future appropriations.

Americans have always rallied in unity when adversity has struck, but today disquieting sounds are heard in the land. Why?

Because the people and their representatives in Congress are forced to probe for peace in a Vietnam vacuum.

Bits of information, generalizations, and clichés fill this vacuum and are charged with an impact totally inconsistent with their importance. This convinces me of the urgent need for full debate on the floor of this House on the all-engrossing topic of Vietnam.

We have had numerous briefings; they have been inadequate because vital omissions have confused, rather than informed, us to the hard facts and realities.

We are told that security demands the withholding of certain information, but that the Armed Services Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee are updated constantly. I do not know whether or not they are, and although I hold great esteem for the able chairmen of both committees, the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RIVERS] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MORCAN], it is not enough that only these men and their committees be made privy to such vital information.

All Members must be provided with all the facts, and as they happen. Timing is of the first importance; and we should be kept abreast of developments, if necessary, on a day-to-day basis. It is our responsibility to the people of this Nation to see that Congress is adequately informed to pass judgment for that people.

If any Member of this body is a security risk, from whom information must be withheld, though I am confident there is none, then he does not belong in Congress.

I recently traveled on my own to Vietnam to see for myself what is happening there.

I was given every bit of information I desired in the war zone. General Westmoreland is most anxious that all Members be adequately informed and was extremely cooperative.

However, while in Vietnam, I was greatly disturbed to read reports, since confirmed by the State Department, that some sort of purported peace offer had been made by Hanoi indirectly, and that these offers were dismissed by the State Department. As illustrated by the appended editorial from the New York Times of November 1, 1965, long after the offers were reported to have been put forth, Secretary Rusk and his aids conducted briefings for Members of Congress. Never once was any indication made that any kind of peace overture had been made. In fact, we were told that the Government was looking for some sign from Hanoi that they would agree to some sort of negotiation.

I charge that this is a serious omission by the Secretary of State.

I do not know if the reported offers were valid or not, but I do think we, as Representatives, deserve at least the courtesy, if not the responsibility, of being informed.

Another serious problem faces us. Do we really know if the basic premise behind our fight to preserve freedom in Vietnam is shared by General Ky and his junta? We are entitled to an early explanation of the conflicting reports about whether Ky will sit down to uncon-

January 13, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

ditional talks as outlined by President Johnson and reiterated by him last night.

Much more needed information may still remain in files marked "Top Secret" in the State and Defense Departments. It is time they were opened to Members of Congress.

It is time, also, that we met our responsibility and brought to the floor in general debate the full facts so that the confidence and unity of the American people can be restored, and so that all the world will know that we seek nothing in Vietnam save the preservation of peace and freedom, and to serve notice on all would-be oppressors, that people are entitled to live in freedom and choose their own destiny without outside force determining their right to life, liberty, and their own pursuit of happiness.

The article referred to follows:

A CHANCE THAT WAS MISSED

The details, and just what each person did or said at the period a year ago when Hanoi sought a discussion with the United States on ending hostilities in Vietnam, must and will be sifted by history. The outstanding—and many will think devastating—fact is that Hanoi offered to talk and Washington refused. This may well prove a heavy burden for the Johnson administration to justify.

The story in the current edition of *Look* magazine, in which Eric Sevareid quotes Adlai Stevenson, was virtually an open secret last autumn and winter. The evidence that Hanoi put out feelers was well substantiated; and the State Department now concedes the fact. But according to Robert McCloskey, State Department spokesman, "all our indications were that there was no serious intent on the other side." Even if this assumption turned out to be true, how could it be known positively without testing Hanoi's intentions?

Secretary Rusk, according to Mr. McCloskey, has a "sensitive antenna" and he would have known—or sensed—when North Vietnam was really prepared for peace talks. This comment reminds one of the ancient Roman practice of drawing auspices from the flight or the entrails of birds. It would be a shuddering thought that the fate of nations and of thousands of young Americans depends on Dean Rusk's antenna. Yet, this is what Mr. McCloskey indicated.

The dates, before and after the 1964 presidential elections, are worth recalling. Many voices in the United States—including that of the *New York Times*—called for efforts to seek negotiation with North Vietnam before escalation of the American involvement. Unfortunately, it was too firmly believed in Washington that Hanoi must make some peaceful gesture in action, not words, and that a firm and bellicose stance by the United States would induce North Vietnam to back down and openly seek peace. There was also a widely held belief, especially at the Pentagon, that if the United States did not make a firm and decisive stand in Vietnam all of southeast Asia would fall like dominoes and the United States would sooner or later be facing Communist China in Hawaii.

Therefore, it was not until April, in his now famous Johns Hopkins speech, that President Johnson asked for unconditional discussions. The might-have-beens of history are forever incapable of proof. Perhaps nothing would have come a year ago of some quiet talks with Hanoi. Yet, as U Thant observed yesterday, much of the present tragedy might have been averted if some

bold steps had been taken last year. The gnawing thought will never be erased: that opportunity tapped faintly on the door—and the United States would not open it.

(Mr. KREBS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. KREBS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

THE PRESIDENT'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate the President on his state of the Union message.

I was particularly impressed that the President is determined to press on with the march on many fronts toward the Great Society. He has wisely rejected the counsel of those men of little faith who told him that he would have to cut back on his domestic programs because of the Vietnam war.

'Not only has he refused to slow down the programs launched by the historic 1st session of the 89th Congress last year, but he outlined an extensive set of exciting new proposals for action by the Congress this year.

Perhaps the most moving and most eloquent passage in his speech was the one in which he said that, if increasing sacrifices at home had to be made because of the Vietnamese conflict, they should be made by those best able so to sacrifice, not those least able. To those who call for sacrifice he put these burning questions:

Whom will they sacrifice? Will they sacrifice the children who seek learning—the sick who need care—the families who dwell in squalor now brightened by the hope of home? Will they sacrifice opportunity for the distressed—the beauty of our land—the hope of our poor.

I congratulate the President also on his refusal to heed the counsels of those who believe that a military victory in Vietnam is possible and necessary. The sincerity of the President's overwhelming desire to achieve a peaceful settlement in that stricken land was clear not only from his words but from the way he spoke them.

On December 8, in an open letter to the President, I urged him to pursue new and imaginative approaches to a peaceful solution of the Vietnam conflict.

Specifically I urged an open-ended suspension of bombing in the north and a ceasefire in the south. I am greatly encouraged that, since Christmas, there has been such a suspension of bombing in the north and that the President last night announced his intention to "work for a ceasefire now or when discussions have begun." He also indicated a readiness to pursue a policy of deescalation when he said:

We will respond if others reduce their use of force.

I only regret that the President did not, as I had also suggested a month ago, make perfectly clear his acceptance of the inevitability that representatives of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam would have to be included in any meaningful negotiations; but it is significant that he did say:

We will meet at any conference table, discuss any proposals—4 points or 14 or 40—and consider the views of any group.

We can only hope and pray that the President's moderate approach, coupled with his far-flung efforts to make our intentions clear, will evoke a corresponding moderation on the other side, and that we may indeed see an early end to the tragic conflict in Vietnam.

So that it may be a part of the permanent RECORD, I am including in the Appendix to today's RECORD the text of my open letter to President Johnson of last December.

I will look forward with keen anticipation to the specific proposals the President will send us, both in implementation of his Great Society goals, and to carry out his plans for this country fully to carry out its responsibilities in seeking to build a better and more peaceful world.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

EXCISE TAXES ON ESSENTIALS SHOULD NOT BE REIMPOSED

(Mr. VIVIAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the message which our great President addressed to our Nation last evening was a message of peril as well as of hope—of sacrifice with prosperity—of challenge as well as accomplishment.

Most of the Members of this House, I believe, will agree with the President that it has become necessary to reimpose some of the taxes which were reduced last year. But it would be my strong plea that the taxes selected to be reimposed not be those taxes on such basic necessities as telephone service or perhaps on motor vehicles, but rather on what all of us would agree are far less essential goods such as jewelry, furs, handbags, and cosmetics. The restoration of these latter taxes would recoup an estimated \$550 million annually, almost as much as the \$640 million lost by the reduction in the telephone tax.

If more tax revenues are needed, I would hope that serious consideration would first be given by the distinguished members of the House Committee on Ways and Means to increasing the personal income tax rates while simultaneously increasing personal exemptions in such proportions that families with incomes of \$4,000 or less a year would not pay increased taxes.

Mr. Speaker, all of us will agree that sacrifices may have to be made this year, and for many years to come. Let us not take the easy path. Let us consider the needs of our people, and their relative

sacrifices, before we select what taxes we shall reimpose upon them.

(Mr. ROGERS of Texas asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

[Mr. ROGERS of Texas' remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

COMMENT ON THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

(Mr. HALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I think there will be general disappointment with the lack of any Presidential decisions on Vietnam, however hard and difficult they may be, and there are no easy decisions in this situation.

The President said our current peace efforts have met with neither success nor failure. When you tell an enemy you would like to negotiate, and he spits in your face, calls your offer a sham and a hoax, and starts shooting at you with everything he has, only a blind optimist would say his reaction is still in doubt.

He spoke of a war stretching into years in Vietnam. Not many people will agree with a status quo policy that bleeds our finest young men indefinitely against the Communist hordes of Asia. Have we learned nothing from the French experience in Indochina?

On the domestic scene, the President surprised Republicans and Democrats alike by his decision to launch a dozen new controversial programs while those initiated last year are still in a state of disrepair and bureaucratic chaos, the new Department of Urban Affairs, for example, which still does not have anyone to head it. Most certainly transportation problems are a vital part of urban affairs. Yet, the President now calls for a new Department of Transportation which would add thousands of new employees to the Federal payroll. At this rate, there will soon be a separate Federal agency for every problem area. Is Government to be fragmented into hundreds of agencies with overlapping functions? The proliferation has got to stop somewhere, and I hope the Congress is ready to draw the line here and now.

EXCISE TAXES SHOULD NOT BE REIMPOSED

(Mr. CHAMBERLAIN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, as is always the case, the state of the Union message delivered by the President last night has prompted varied reaction here in the Congress, throughout the country, and throughout the world. Like each of you, I found areas of both agreement and disagreement with what the President had to say.

While the President discussed many problems of greater urgency, I was deeply disturbed to hear his recommendation that the Congress temporarily restore the automobile and certain telephone

excise tax reductions made only 12 days ago.

I have advocated the repeal of these discriminatory excise taxes for the past 10 years. I readily recognize our need for added revenue to finance our growing commitment to sustain the war in Vietnam, but I am stunned that the President would suggest that we reinstate the same old discriminatory temporary taxes that took a quarter of a century to remove. It is of particular interest to note that in his message to the Congress on May 17, 1965, the President urged reduction of the excise tax because, among other reasons, he wanted to end an unfair burden on many businesses and workers who produce the commodities singled out for excise taxation. Now he is back asking that this unfair burden be reinstated.

As I have argued so many times, why should a single business or activity be saddled with a tax that all taxpayers are not asked to share? This is wrong. If we need money, and I believe we do, let us devise some means of raising it with fairness.

It is too early, of course, to speculate on what action the Congress will take on the President's request. But if we reimpose the excise tax cuts voted just a few months ago, which became effective only 13 days ago, the Congress will certainly be made to look whimsical, without conviction, and nothing but a perfect rubberstamp.

The whole ridiculous situation reminds me of the nursery rhyme about how—

The King of France and 40,000 men marched up the hill and then marched down again.

HOUSE DEMOCRATIC STEERING COMMITTEE AND HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution, House Resolution 661, and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 661

Resolved, That, effective January 3, 1966, there shall be payable from the contingent fund of the House of Representatives, until otherwise provided by law, not to exceed \$5,000 annually for necessary expenses, other than salaries, to each of the following:

- (1) the House Democratic Steering Committee; and
- (2) the House Republican Conference.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ACTIVITY REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

(Mr. HARRIS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, for the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce I have today filed the activity

report of the committee for the 1st session of the 89th Congress. I personally feel that the committee had a very good record and I commend this report to the attention of the Members.

Mr. Speaker, for some years the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has been studying and investigating the important subject of broadcast ratings. For the committee I have today filed the broadcast ratings report under the resolution authorizing the committee to undertake this work. This is a very important report, and I commend it to the Members for their attention.

JET AIR SERVICE FROM THE WASHINGTON NATIONAL AIRPORT

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, some time ago I suggested that the time was going to come, in view of the phasing-out of piston aircraft by the air carriers, that the Washington National Airport would no doubt have jet air service. I had in mind, of course, the smaller jets that could operate in and out of this airport, such as the two- and three-engine jets.

On January 11 the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration sent a letter to me as chairman of the committee in which he included an announcement of the Federal Aviation Agency that beginning April 24, 1966, short-haul jet operation would begin at the National Airport.

I personally think that this was a good move. I saw it. I have seen it for some time. I personally do not believe that it will take anything away from Dulles or Friendship. Both are important facilities serving this area, and they will make a very great contribution to the area in the future.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time in order to ask the majority leader if he will announce the schedule for the remainder of the week and any legislative schedule that he might have for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished gentleman from Michigan yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield.

Mr. ALBERT. We do not have a legislative program ready for next week. I think there are two bills on the Consent Calendar, and very few bills on the Private Calendar.

ORDER TO DISPENSE WITH THE CALL OF THE CONSENT CALENDAR ON MONDAY NEXT AND THE PRIVATE CALENDAR ON TUESDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the Consent Calendar in order on Monday next, and the call of the Private Calendar in order on Tuesday next, may be dispensed with.

January 13, 1966

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

A101

somewhat tarnished folk image which puts the politician a cut or two below the statesman. We have seen the separation of politician and political scientist.

There is, on the other hand, a very serious and respectable effort being made these days to resolve some of the complex problems that have grown up as a direct result of the separation of practical politics from political science. The process of academic inquiry goes on and, I think, is presently enjoying a unique resurgence among scholars and politicians alike.

There has even been, surprisingly, a gradual swing of the pendulum in some schools of thought away from the traditions and principles which have given them their life-blood.

We seek a union of scientific rationale and the cold-blooded pragmatism of everyday politics.

On December 4, the Massachusetts Congressman was inducted into Phi Delta Phi, with which many of the Members of this body are associated.

The honor was bestowed at the National Lawyers Club by the Marshall Inn in recognition of our colleague's dedication as a law student when he completed a 3-year course in 2 years in addition to holding down several part-time positions; for his service to his community as a member of the legal profession, and for his outstanding political achievements.

By his initiation he joined the heritage of such men as the late, gifted statesman, John Foster Dulles; the former Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn; Senator WILLIAM FULBRIGHT; Justice Hugo Black; Senator DAN INOUYE; and Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, the senior Senator from Massachusetts.

At the initiation ceremony, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] made some remarks of which, I think, the legal profession and the Members of this body should be cognizant so that they can give guidance to their ultimate fulfillment.

He said in part:

If there is some counsel which I, as practicing politician involved with the scope and activity of our Federal Government, could give you tonight, it would be to dedicate yourselves to safeguarding the preeminence of the individual to society; and, more specifically, to apply the great skills you have developed toward making law responsive to the needs of the individual, to making it the protector and servant of all the people, not just those who can afford to buy it.

In all fairness, I must also tell you that such a course is not an easy or materially rewarding one. You won't get rich solving the problems of the poor. But if you are like me, you will find the psychic satisfactions more than adequate. And, there is both a challenge and a responsibility for each of us in this work.

Let me tell some of the reasons why I feel it is so important.

Today this Nation and the world are in the midst of some of the most revolutionary social changes since the Germanic barbarians overran the Roman Empire. The thrust of this modern social revolution is moving us closer and closer to the lotus beds of a paternalistic welfare state in which the Federal Government will clothe and house and feed us; will plan our cities and pay our bills; will plant our crops and fence our wilderness; and will tend our ill, deliver our babies, and bury our dead.

There are now programs of aid and assistance for just about every phase of life that could pose the slightest problem for us.

We have a broadly comprehensive program for aid to education. We have disaster aid for business, medicare for the aged, social security, housing grants and loans, and now we even have a program whereby the Government is going to subsidize rent payments for the poor.

In order to make all of these programs work, in addition to the controls and tax regulations and fair employment rules that set the boundaries, a vast body of administrative law has been created.

It is with this kind of law that the poor and underprivileged must deal in order to take advantage of the assistance programs which have been set up for their benefit. The paradox is that they are also the least equipped to deal with such law. They are the least able to understand, and the least able to pay for someone else's understanding and counsel.

This is not the spirit of the new jurisprudence. This is not preserving and upholding the preeminence of the individual. This is subordinating the individual to the clumsy, sluggish, random machinery of the state. It subordinates him to the institutions that are created to help him.

It is in this realm, I believe, that the greatest challenge lies for the legal profession today. It lies in bending this sudden new, mammoth body of administrative law applied in what Justice Brennan termed the administrative forum, as distinct from the judicial forum, to the individual. It lies in bringing that law to the individual and making it work for him; in establishing the recognition of human beings as the most distinctive and important feature of the universe; and in forcing upon government the limitations which, Justice Brennan argues, are necessary to preserve human dignity and our sacred heritage of freedom.

There is a job to be done here and I can tell you, from the vantage point of a U.S. Congressman, that job is not being done today.

Probably 75 percent of a Congressman's time, on the average, is spent trying to help some poor guy back home get himself out of a tax jam, or get a fair shake on some land the Government wants, or to press a claim on his social security, or some other similar problem involving a confrontation with an agency of the Federal Government.

Unfortunately, 75 percent of a Congressman's time—or even 100 percent—is not enough to help all the individuals with problems.

The gap persisted and the number of problems grows in direct proportion to the growth of the Government. If we are to create meaningful progress for society, we must make certain these programs serve the people who need them. We must bend every effort to keep them from becoming simply a rat-hole for tax dollars, a system for creating Federal jobs but little else.

Pay heed to the problems of the poor. Give of your time and talent to bringing the law to the poor, to giving them the legal assistance they so desperately need. It is an obligation you must face, an obligation to your country and to your fellow man.

**Letter to the President on Our Policy
in Vietnam**

**SPEECH
OF**

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM
OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to unanimous consent, I include here-

with the text of an open letter on the subject of our policy in Vietnam which I sent to the President on December 8, 1965:

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In my congressional district, as I am sure in others, there is a deep and growing uneasiness about the situation in Vietnam. This feeling has been accentuated recently by the disclosures that our Government had been sounded out a year ago by U Thant, on the possibility of talks with Hanoi, and had reacted negatively. It has also been accentuated by the fact that Secretary McNamara, who once spoke of getting finished in Vietnam in a few months, now talks of a long struggle, and that Secretary Rusk offers no plan for the achievement of negotiations looking toward an honorable and stable peace.

I do not mean to suggest that the majority of my constituents are not willing to support you on Vietnam. Of 8,000 replies I received last June to a questionnaire, 58 percent indicated support of your general policy or even more drastic measures. While the stepup since then in the scale of our military efforts, and the rising casualty rate, may have caused some diminution in this percentage, I believe the majority of my constituents are prepared to trust your judgment as to what is necessary. Nevertheless, the number of thoughtful, patriotic people who are expressing their unhappiness about what is going on is certainly increasing.

First of all, there is uncertainty as to what our position is. Last spring we were told that more Americans had to be sent to Vietnam because we were losing; recently we have been told that more men have to go though we are not losing. Statements that you make, indicating your determination to find a peaceful solution, seem to be contradicted by members of your administration. For example, last summer you stated that the issue of whether or not we should talk with representatives of the Vietcong would not be an obstacle to negotiations, but since then Secretary Rusk has repeated that we could not deal with the Vietcong. (As I have previously stated, I myself cannot see how we could refuse to include the Vietcong in any serious negotiations; they would be bound to be involved, for example, in any talks regarding the conduct of elections in South Vietnam.)

Second, there is a feeling, which I share, that we have somehow been drawn, step by step, into a situation which is to no one's advantage so much as that of the Communist Chinese, and that we appear to have no plan for extricating ourselves from this veritable trap. Increased military activity on our part leads to increased military activity on the part of the Communists to which we in turn feel we must respond with counteraction, and so on and on.

We talk about our desire to negotiate, yet our offers to negotiate—our alleged weekly feelers—often seem couched in terms that make it impossible for the North Vietnamese, as prideful nationalists, to accept them. For example, we say that we have repeatedly tried to find out whether Hanoi would be willing to negotiate if we suspended our bombings of North Vietnam. Can we not understand that, to the Communists, an affirmative answer to this kind of query would seem like a surrender, a sign of national weakness?

Or we say that we will suspend bombing in the north if Hanoi will pull out one division from the south. Again, from their point of view, what kind of deal would that be? To suspend our bombing would cost us nothing, and we could resume at any moment; but for Hanoi to pull out a division would mean the waste of the enormous effort involved in bringing the divi-

A102

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

January 13, 1966

sion into South Vietnam, and to reverse the process and send the division back south would be equally costly.

From the beginning, we should have been trying to stimulate the natural Vietnamese fear of the Chinese, and to keep Hanoi, if possible, from becoming wholly dependent on Peiping. Yet the effect of our actions has apparently been just the opposite—to drive a reluctant Hanoi into the embrace of Peiping. Hanoi's present apparent rejection of any negotiations, except on terms that would represent a total surrender for us, parallels Peiping's position completely. Somehow we must find a way to reverse the trend.

I tend to agree with those who feel that we have not been imaginative in our efforts to negotiations started, that we have assumed, without justification and incorrectly, that we could pressure Hanoi to agree to negotiate by military action that would hurt. And I am emphatically opposed to the current argument that we can accomplish our objective by hurling Hanoi still more; e.g. by extending the bombing to industrial and other targets in the Hanoi-Haiphong area. Such tactics would not only be likely to stiffen still more the resistance and determination of the North Vietnamese, but would once again be driving Hanoi more firmly than ever into total dependence on Peiping.

I know that you, Mr. President, are desperately concerned about American casualties in Vietnam, and that you want to see to it that our forces have every bit of equipment and supplies they need to carry out the tasks they are given to do. I feel the same way.

I also believe, Mr. President, that you want to get the fighting stopped as soon as possible, so as to put an end to the casualties. These purposes are not inconsistent. Both are important. Both are in the interest of our fighting men.

Since our present course of action seems to be leading only to steady intensification of the hostilities, and does not seem to be bringing a peaceful settlement any closer, is it not imperative that we seek new approaches to the solution of our ghastly problem?

Specifically, should we not suspend the bombing of North Vietnam once again, and mobilize the influence of the nonaligned nations of Asia to help us get negotiations started. In making such a gesture to emphasize our desire to end the hostilities, we would do well to link the announcement to the Buddhist religious holidays, such as the New Year which occurs in January, rather than referring solely to our own Christmas and Chanukah season. Instead of announcing a time limit to the suspension, which would once again have an ultimatum-like sound, we should, I believe, leave the matter of duration indefinite. An encouraging response might take time to develop and emerge.

Even more dramatically, we might well announce a unilateral cease-fire in the south, coupled with a proposal that the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese units suspend hostile action, also. If they refused to so respond, we would be free to resume military action ourselves within a matter of hours.

Granted, it might be difficult to get the South Vietnamese Government to agree to these procedures, but the effort should be made, and surely we are not without means of persuasion. If such persuasion proves impossible, we should proceed with the conciliatory moves on our own.

Let it not be said that such a course might cause political trouble in Saigon. That argument was somewhat persuasive when we still held to the position that this was Saigon's war to win. Today that position is in tatters. It has become our war—not to win, because a military solution is impossible—but our war to fight until we can find a way

to negotiate an honorable and lasting settlement. Our own involvement is now too great for us to allow the unpredictable political winds in Saigon to deflect us from the course we want to take.

I cannot say that such measures as I have proposed would lead to fruitful negotiations, or to any negotiations. They will not, I am sure, if Peiping can help it. But I do say that I can see no better way for us to try to escape from the morass we are now in. And we should explore every possibility of escape that is open to us, instead of stubbornly plowing deeper into the morass day by day.

Sincerely,

JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,
Member of Congress.

Jerseyans Signing Up To Teach Viets Our Three R's

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to insert at this point in the Record an article which appeared in the New York Daily News on January 9, 1966 concerning a very idealistic constituent of mine.

James Sansone is a very remarkable young man. I think his story is worthy of the attention of all Members. Under unanimous consent I insert this article at this point in the Record.

The article follows:

JERSEYANS SIGNING UP TO TEACH VIETS OUR THREE R'S

(By Daniel O'Grady)

Triggered by the growing number of draft card burnings and other pacifist demonstrations, a 31-year-old high school teacher is organizing a statewide drive to recruit teachers to staff schools in Vietnam next summer without pay.

The project, just begun, is expected to be in full swing next month in order to prepare the volunteers for the overseas assignment, according to James Sansone, a math teacher at Wallington High School in Bergen County, the man behind the unique movement.

"We feel that the handful of students and teachers connected with the demonstrations are giving educated people in general a bad name," Sansone, a bachelor, explained. "That's why we started the program to teach the South Vietnamese."

"We hope to demonstrate how most educated people feel about our country's policy in Vietnam," he added.

SUMMONED TO WASHINGTON

Early in December, Sansone wrote to the State Department outlining his idea and, after an exchange of letters, was invited to Washington to elaborate on the plan.

There he met with State Department representatives December 16 and they urged him to begin his recruiting campaign. According to Sansone the officials also said that Uncle Sam would foot the bill for travel and living expenses of the volunteers if the recruiting drive proved successful.

Sansone will meet with Governor Hughes during the coming week to ask for permission to recruit in the State's colleges. He also will ask for use of classrooms and some additional financing to cover the cost of the campaign. The classrooms will be used to teach volunteers the Vietnamese language in an intensive 20-week course.

The teachers who are ready to go after school closes next summer must be prepared to teach the equivalent of 1 year of school in 10 weeks. Including travel time, they will be away from home 12 weeks.

THIRTY-ONE ALREADY ENROLLED

Thirty-one teachers already have volunteered for the program and Sansone receives more and more mail each day requesting information and application blanks. And the phone never seems to stop ringing in his home at 370 Liberty Avenue, Jersey City, and at school.

"One of the State Department's field representatives said 200 teachers could be put to use right now in Vietnam," Sansone said. "We are hoping this program will mushroom all over the country, but we are only interested in New Jersey teachers," he added.

This program will be different from the Peace Corps, he explained, because it will be privately administered and restricted to teachers.

Sansone originally started out to be an electrical engineer and holds bachelor of science degrees in both electrical and electronic engineering from Fairleigh Dickinson University. When he realized he didn't want to spend the rest of his life as an engineer he attended New York University and Montclair State Teachers College to earn enough education credits to teach.

Sansone was athletic director and assistant to the principal at Ferris High School, Jersey City, before joining the Wallington faculty last year.

The energetic teacher, who looks fit enough to be a track star, said his group and future volunteers will be offering the thing they know best, teaching, to help the Vietnamese.

Perhaps, he added, the tours in the future could be lengthened to 1 or 2 years and spread to countries other than Vietnam. But right now he is only concerned with this summer's program and lining up volunteers.

A House Stall on Home Rule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1966

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, at the close of the last session, the San Francisco Examiner wrote a strong editorial on behalf of home rule for the District of Columbia. Their reaction is an indication of the widespread national concern about the fate of proposals for District self-government. I commend it to the attention of my fellow Members:

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner, Oct. 2, 1965]

A HOUSE STALL ON HOME RULE

Smithville (the name is fictional, the facts are not) is an undistinguished community of small population. But it selects its own public officials, operates its own municipal program.

Washington, D.C., is the National Capital. It has an 800,000 population. But it cannot name its own officials or set up its own municipal policies.

The President and Congress handle it all—services, taxes, financing. The people have no direct say.

The case for home rule for the Nation's Capital City has been convincingly made, yet there are those in Congress who continue to drag their feet.